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 RUDKAR/AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST 6717
 RUDKDA/AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST 6656
 RUEHLD/AMEMBASSY LONDON 4870
 RUEHMD/AMEMBASSY MADRID 1157
 RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 8169
 RUFHMU/AMCONSUL MUNICH 4403
 RUFHFR/AMEMBASSY PARIS 4494
 RUDKRF/AMEMBASSY PRAGUE 6611
 RUEHRO/AMEMBASSY ROME 2266
 RUDKSA/AMEMBASSY SOFIA 5283
 RUDKFMQ/AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM 1515
 RUFHJA/USMISSION USBERLIN 4580
 RUFHNA/USMISSION USNATO 3721
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 RUEKJCS/DIA WASHDC
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C O N F I D E N T I A L

WARSAW 12325 COMBINED SECTION

BRUSSELS FOR USEC

E.O. 120YT: GDS 12/17/87 (MOORE, RALPH R) OR-E
TAGS: PINS, PINT, PGOV, PL
SUBJ: JARUZELSKI ADVISER ON CURRENT SITUATION

REF: WARSAW 12213

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.
2. SUMMARY: A JARUZELSKI ADVISOR ON DECEMBER 17 REVIEWED THE GENERAL'S ALLEGED AIMS WITH EMBASSY OFFICER. END SUMMARY.
3. TAKING THE HINT DROPPED BY A SENIOR JOURNALIST FOR TRYBUNA LUDU THAT JARUZELSKI'S PERSONAL ADVISERS WERE THE MEN TO TALK TO ABOUT THE PARTY (REPORTED REFTEL), EMBOFF REQUESTED BY LETTER AN APPOINTMENT WITH "CAPTAIN" WIESLAW GORNICKI, ON OF THESE VERY ADVISERS, WHOE ACQUAINTANCE THE EMBOFF HAD ONCE MADE. INSTEAD OF RESPONDING BY NOTE, GORNICKI APPEARED IN FRONT OF THE EMBASSY, IN AN EMBASSY VEHICLE, DRIVEN BY THE EMBASSY DRIVER WHO HAD GONE TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS BUILDING TO PICK UP THE EXPECTED MESSAGE FROM GORNICKI. EMBOFF JUMPED INTO THE CAR AND WENT OFF FOR A SIXTY-MINUTE DICTATION SESSION IN A NEARBY COFFEEHOUSE.
4. GORNICKI MADE IT VERY CLEAR THAT HE HAD BUT HALF AN HOUR, THAT HE HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED TO MEET WITH THE EMBOFF, AND--BY TAKING OUT EXTENSIVE NOTES UPON BEING SEATED IN THE COFFEEHOUSE--THAT HE WAS FULLY PREPARED, NOT TO ANSWER QUESTIONS OR TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT SITUATION, BUT TO DELIVER HIS MESSAGE. BECAUSE GORNICKI UNSHEATHED HIS NOTES RIGHT AWAY, EMBOFF TOOK OUTPEN AND NOTEBOOK AND OPENLY RECORDED MUCH OF THE MEETING.
5. GORNICKI'S FIRST POINT WAS THAT THE DECEMBER 13 MILITARY TAKEOVER WAS STRICTLY DOMESTIC POLISH BUSINESS. THE SOVIET ATTITUDE, HE SAID, COULD BE DESCRIBED AS

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ONE OF ACQUIESCENCE. THE SOVIETS HAD BEEN EXPECTING MARTIAL LAW BUT THEY WERE NOT CONSULTED, NEITHER DID THEY GIVE ADVISE ON THE INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW. GORNICKI CALLED EMBOFF'S ATTENTION TO THE FACT THAT JARUZELSKI IS NO LONGER EVER REFERRED TO AS FIRST SECRETARY WHICH MUST BE GALLING TO THE SOVIETS.

6. JARUZELSKI, THEN, ACTED AS HE DID, CONTINUED GORNICKI, BECAUSE THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAD NO ROOM LEFT TO MANEUVER; AT STAKE WAS THE SURVIVAL NOT ONLY OF THE POLISH AUTHORITIES BUT OF THE EUROPEAN STATUS QUO AS ORIGINALLY DEFINED AT YALTA AND POTSDAM. THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTINUED NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOLIDARNOSC HAD BEEN CAREFULLY CONSIDERED, GORNICKI STATED, BUT FRIDAY MORNING'S (DEC 11) DECISIONS BY SOLIDARNOSC'S NATIONAL COMMISSION TO SUPPORT THE DEC 3 RADOM POSITION TAKEN BY THE UNION'S PRESIDUM MARKED FOR THE AUTHORITIES THE END OF INFLUENCE OF SOLIDARNOSC'S MODERATE WING. FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS WAS THEREFORE OUT OF THE QUESTION.

7. GORNICKI ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE AUTHORITIES HAD LEARNED OF WHAT HE TERMED PREPARATIONS FOR A DESPERATE, ABERRANT, ROMANTIC RESISTANCE MOVEMENT: IN A STEEL-CABLE FACTORY IN CHRZANOW (NEAR KATOWICE), THE CABLE PRODUCED WERE BEING HACKED UP FOR BILLY CLUBS. SUCH MOVEMENTS WERE NIPPED IN THE BUD.

BRUSSELS FOR USEP

8. THERE WAS ALSO THE NATIONAL ECONOMY TO BE CONSIDERED. GORNICKI CLAIMED THAT THE FALL IN POLAND'S GNP THUS FAR IN 1981 IS APPROXIMATELY THIRTY-FIVE PERCENT, THAT A CONTINUED DECLINE WOULD RUIN ANY CHANCE OF POLAND'S REPAYING ITS DEBT, THAT SHEER STARVATION WAS JUST AROUND THE CORNER, AND THAT WITHOUT SWIFT ACTION NO PLAN FOR ECONOMIC REFORM COULD BE INTRODUCED.

9. IN TRYING TO DEFINE THE POLICIES OF POLAND'S MILITARY COUNCIL, GORNICKI BEGAN BY STATING THAT THE COUNCIL'S WILLINGNESS TO CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF

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RENEWAL (ODNOWA) IS NEITHER A TRICK NOR A COVER. GORNICKI USED AS AN EXAMPLE OF JARUZELSKI'S GOOD FAITH THE GENERAL'S CLOSE TIES WITH PEOPLE LIKE HIMSELF AND LIKE MIECZYSLAW RAKOWSKI, WHO, SAID GORNICKI, HAVE LONG BEEN CONNECTED WITH THE IDEALS OF RENEWAL AND WHO HAVE PAID THE PRICE FOR THEIR ATTITUDE BY SUFFERING MANY AD HOMINEM ATTACKS. ACCORDING TO GORNICKI, AS SOON AS LAW AND ORDER IS RESTORED, THE REFORMS GUARANTEED IN THE GDANSK, SZCZECIN, AND JASTRZEBIE AGREEMENTS OF 1980 WILL BE CONTINUED AND DEEPENED.

10. PARENTHETICALLY, GORNICKI DID ADMIT THAT SOME EXTREMISTS GROUPS (COMMENT: READ PARTY "HARDLINERS") HAVE JOINED THE JARUZELSKI BANDWAGON BUT THAT THE MAINSTREAM REMAINS COMMITTED TO THE IDEALS OF THE THREE AGREEMENTS -- A COMMITMENT TO WHICH JARUZELSKI HAS HELD UNWAVERINGLY SINCE HIS ACCESSION TO THE PREMIERSHIP. IF JARUZELSKI HAD WANTED TO TURN AWAY FROM THE AGREEMENTS, HE WOULD HAVE DONE SO AT THE POINT OF NO RETURN, SAID GORNICKI, IN MARCH AT THE TIME OF THE BYDGOSZCZ INCIDENT: THIS WOULD HAVE BEEN A PROPITIOUS MOMENT TO CRUSH SOLIDARNOSC WHEN THE UNION WAS NOT WELL ORGANIZED AND THE KPN NOT WELL ESTABLISHED. HOWEVER, SOLIDARNOSC WAS NOT CRUSHED BECAUSE JARUZELSKI'S WING OF THE PZPR WANTED TO GIVE EVERY CHANCE TO REFORM. JARUZELSKI'S DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE THE PROCESS OF RENEWAL WILL NOT CHANGE, AFFIRMED GORNICKI, IRRESPECTIVE OF WHAT HAPPENS NOW IN POLAND. "RENEWAL" IS NOT A MERE SHIBBOLETH, FOR JARUZELSKI KNOWS THAT ONE CANNOT IMPRESS THE POLES WITH CATCHWORDS.

11. THE PROBLEM, GORNICKI ADMITTED, IS THAT POLAND HAS TO BE PUT BACK ON THE ROAD TO REFORM WHILE CHARACTERIZED BY A DETERIORATING SITUATION. FOR EXAMPLE, HE SAID, ONCE YOU INTERN INTELLECTUALS, YOU CANNOT EASILY REGAIN THEIR CONFIDENCE.

12. GORNICKI WENT ON TO EXPRESS HIS APPRECIATION OF THE INITIAL USG POSITION VIS-A-VIS POLAND, AS IT DID NOT LEND ITSELF TO FAVORING ANY SORT OF ESCALATION OF TENSIONS IN POLAND, WHICH COULD BRING ABOUT A THREAT

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TO WORLD PEACE. AFTER ALL, HE SAID, POLAND IS NOT CZECHOSLOVAKIA, NOT AFGHANISTAN, BUT A CRUCIAL AREA FOR SOVIET COMMUNISM AND SECURITY. GORNICKI HERE INTERJECTED WHAT HE CALLED A PERSONAL NOTE: IN AFGHANISTAN LAST YEAR, HE CAME TO LEARN FIRST-HAND OF THE SERIOUS REBIRTH OF THE OLD RUSSIAN FEAR OF ENCIRCLEMENT. GORNICKI POINT TO SUCH TROUBLE SPOTS FOR THE SOVIETS AS NORWAY, WHERE (HE SAID) A CLOSER INTEGRATION INTO NATO HAS GIVEN THE SOVIETS PAUSE; TURKEY; JAPAN, WHERE THE EXTREME RIGHT DOMINATES IN REACTION TO CONTINUED SOVIET OCCUPATION OF CERTAIN ISLANDS; IRAN, WHICH IS JUST AS ANTI-SOVIET AS ANTI-AMERICAN, ACCORDING TO GORNICKI; AFGHANISTAN, WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS NO SOVIET STRONGHOLD; AND THE MEDITERRANEAN, FROM WHERE THE SOVIETS HAVE GENERALLY BEEN REMOVED. THE UPSHOT IS THAT THE SOVIETS COULD NOT DIGEST AN UPHEAVAL THAT WOULD THREATEN THEIR INTERESTS IN POLAND.

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13. IN DISCUSSING THE PZPR, GORNICKI SAID THAT THE PARTY'S CURRENT ROLE IS ONE OF THE MOST PUZZLING ASPECTS OF THE SITUATION AND TOLD EMBOFF NOT TO EXPECT FROM HIM ANY REAL EXPLANATION. THE ABSENCE OF THE PARTY FROM THE POLISH MEDIA INDICATES THAT THE MILITARY COUNCIL DOES NOT ACCEPT INSTRUCTIONS FROM ANY PREVIOUSLY EXISTING STRUCTURE, WITH TWO EXCEPTIONS--THE COUNCIL OF STATE AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS. THE MILITARY COUNCIL IS NOT, HE STATED, AN ARMED HAND OF THE PZPR POLITBURO AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

14. GORNICKI CLAIMED HE DID NOT KNOW HOW THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MILITARY COUNCIL AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MILITARY COUNCIL AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WOULD DEVELOP. HE SAID THERE WERE NO IMMEDIATE PLANS FOR A PLENUM; IN FACT, THE PARTY WAS SUBJECTED TO MANY OF THE RESTRICTIONS BEING APPLIED TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, SOME OF WHICH HAVE BEEN PUT IN ABEYANCE. THE PARTY-CONNECTED "VRANCH" UNIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED, ALTHOUGH, SAID GORNICKI,

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THE SOCIALIST YOUTH UNION HAS SOMEHOW BEEN LEFT TO OPERATE.

15. HE AGAIN MADE THE POINT THAT THE FOCUS IN POLAND NOW WAS DOMESTIC AND INTERNAL, EVEN NATIONALISTIC (WHICH HE WAS AT PAINS TO DISTINGUISH FROM "JINGOISTIC"). SUCH A FOCUS BEGAN WITH JARUZELSKI, WHO, ACCORDING TO GORNICKI, AS A GRADUATE OF A STRICT ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOL, REMAINS ATTACHED TO POLISH LITERATURE AND CULTURE, TO "POLISHDOM."

16. GORNICKI THEN SAID HE HAD TO RAISE A DELICATE POINT. IN THE POLICE RAID ON SOLIDARNOSC/MAZOWSZE HEADQUARTERS, HUNDREDS OF DOCUMENTS WERE COLLECTED THAT INDICATE DEEP FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT. HE CLAIMED NOT TO HAVE SEEN THE DOCUMENTS BUT WAS TOLD THAT SOME WERE EXPLOSIVE. HE SAID THAT THE AUTHORITIES, HOWEVER, HAD NO INTENTION OF PUBLISHING THEM, THAT THERE WAS A GENERAL INTEREST IN KEEPING THE LID ON, AS HE PUT IT. HE STATED THAT THE AUTHORITIES WANTED TO AVOID THE IMPRESSION THAT POLAND WAS CHAD, UPPER VOLTA, OR SENEGAL; POLAND, HE SAID, WAS NO PLACE FOR A JUNTA. POLAND IS, HE WENT ON, A SERIOUS AND RESPONSIBLE COUNTRY, AND THE MILITARY COUNCIL WISHES TO ACT SERIOUSLY AND RESPONSIBLY IN ORDER TO AVOID FURTHER CONFLAGRATION, WHICH COULD THREATEN EUROPEAN SECURITY. SO, ALTHOUGH THE DOCUMENTS WOULD HAVE GREAT PROPAGANDA VALUE, THE AUTHORITIES HAVE JUDGED THIS FACT IRRELEVANT IN COMPARISON WITH NOT ONLY THE FATE OF POLAND BUT INTERNATIONAL SECURITY. GORNICKI SAID HIS SINCERE HOPE IS THAT ALL COUNTRIES, ESPECIALLY THE U.S., WOULD NOT BE TEMPTED TO SEEK LITTLE PROPAGANDA VICTORIES BUT WOULD CONSIDER INSTEAD LONG-RANGE HISTORICAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

17: AT THIS POINT, EMBOFF INTERRUPTED TO ASK GORNICKI SPECIFICALLY IF HE WAS ACCUSING THE USG OF BEING THE SOURCE OF THESE SUPPOSEDLY EXPLOSIVE DOCUMENTS. HE FELL BACK ON HIS STATEMENT THAT HE HIMSELF HAD NOT ACTUALLY SEEN THE DOCUMENTS. WHEN EMBOFF PROTESTED THAT, AFTER ALL, GORNICKI WAS SPEAKING TO A REPRESENTATIVE

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OF THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, GORNICKI EXPLAINED THAT HE WAS NOT ENGAGED IN RECRIMINATIONS BUT IN TRYING TO INDICATE THE PROFOUND GOOD WILL OF THE MILITARY AUTHORITIES IN WORKING TO CALM THE SITUATION AND CREATE A CLIMATE WHERE REFORM MIGHT FLOURISH.

18. GORNICKI POINTED TO THE PRESENCE AMONG JARUZELSKI'S CLOSEST ADVISERS OF SUCH DISTINGUISHED AND REFORM-MINDED INTELLECTUALS AS RAKOWSKI, ZAWADSKI (SYLWESTER--MINISTER OF JUSTICE), RAJKIEWICZ (ANTONI--MINISTER OF LABOR), AND OF COURSE GORNICKI HIMSELF AS PROOF OF THE GENERAL'S REFORMIST CREDENTIALS. SUCH PEOPLE, AFFIRMED GORNICKI, HAVE JOINED JARUZELSKI NOT BECAUSE OF COERCION OR OPPORTUNISM BUT OUT OF A FIRM BELIEF THAT THIS IS THE ONLY WAY BACK TO REFORM. AFTER ALL, GORNICKI CONCLUDED, WHATEVER GOOD WAS BROUGHT TO PRE-WORLD-WAR-TWO POLAND CAME AFTER 1926 (COMMENT: AFTER PILSUDSKI'S PUTSCH).

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19. EMBOFF GOT IN ONE QUESTION: HOW DID THE MILITARY COUNCIL PROPOSE THROUGH REPRESSION TO WIN OVER THE POLISH PEOPLE AND GAIN THEIR COOPERATION, INCREASE THEIR PRODUCTIVITY, TO PUT THE COUNTRY BACK ON ITS FEET?

20. GORNICKI ANSWERED THAT, TO QUOTE NIXON, HE BELIEVED IN A 'SILENT MAJORITY' IN POLAND; DISCOUNTING THIS, SOLIDARNOSC HAD OVERESTIMATED ITS INFLUENCE AND IMPACT. GORNICKI CITED POZNAN, WHERE THE REGIONAL SOLIDARNOSC CHAIRMAN ROZWALAK HAD JUST PUBLICLY STATED HIS WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH THE MILITARY REGIME, AS A MODEL FOR A MODUS OPERANDI AGREED ON BETWEEN THE LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND SOLIDARNOSC. THE PEOPLE TO BE WON OVER, GORNICKI CONTINUED, WERE THE VERY, VERY YOUNG PEOPLE, WHOSE REBELLIOUSNESS WAS PSYCHOLOGICALLY RATHER THAN POLITICALLY MOTIVATED; THEY FELT A NEED TO LIVE THROUGH SOMETHING MOMENTOUS TO GET AWAY FROM THE DEADLY BOREDOM OF DAILY LIFE.

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21. A SIGN OF THIS YOUTH PROBLEM IN POLAND HAS BEEN, CLAIMED GORNICKI, THE RECENT EXTRAORDINARY RISE IN CRIMINALITY MARKED BY DAYLIGHT STREET ROBBERIES AND OPEN BLACK-MARKETEERING. JARUZELSKI, SAID GORNICKI, IS VERY SENSITIVE TO MORAL ISSUES AND INTENDS TO EXCISE THE CANCER THAT IS EATING AT THE MORAL TISSUE OF POLISH SOCIETY.

22. THE SILENT MAJORITY, SAID GORNICKI, WILL ACCEPT, SUPPORT, OR GRUDGINGLY ADMIT THE SORT OF COMPULSION NECESSARY BOTH TO FIGHT CRIME AND TO IMPROVE THE MARKET SITUATION. JUST AS COMPULSION HISTORICALLY SERVED COMMUNISM WELL IN THE EARLY STAGES OF INDUSTRIALIZATION, SO COMPULSION MAY AGAIN WORK IN POLAND AT LEAST TO IMPROVE PRODUCTIVITY BY REDUCING THE ABSENTEEISM THAT HAD REACHED AN AVERAGE OF FORTY PERCENT OF THE WORK FORCE IN LARGE ENTERPRISES. THE REDUCTION OF ABSENTEEISM AND THE INCREASE IN PRODUCTIVITY SHOULD PROVIDE THE INITIAL BREAKTHROUGH.

23. WITH THIS BREAKTHROUGH, ECONOMIC REFORM WILL STAND A CHANCE TO TAKE HOLD, STATED GORNICKI. ENTERPRISE AUTONOMY AND WORKER SELF-MANAGEMENT WILL BE THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF THIS REFORM, WHICH, ACCORDING TO GORNICKI, WILL GO AHEAD AT A REDUCED PACE BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1982.

24. BRIEF COMMENT: GORNICKI NOW APPEARS PUBLICLY IN A MILITARY UNIFORM BUT FOR THIS MEETING WAS DRESSED IN CIVILIAN CLOTHING, A FACT TO WHICH HE REFERRED AT LEAST THREE TIMES DURING THE CONVERSATION. THE LENGTH ALONE OF HIS DISCOURSE SHOULD GIVE SOME INDICATION OF THE PLEASURE HE TOOK IN CARRYING OUT HIS MISSION. COMPLETELY FULL OF HIMSELF, UNFAILINGLY REFERRING TO JARUZELSKI AS "MY BOSS," GORNICKI WITH HIS IMPECCABLE ENGLISH HAS OBVIOUSLY BEEN APPOINTED SALESMAN TO THE FOREIGNER OF THE MILITARY LINE OF GOODS. HE IS SCHEDULED TO BE INTERVIEWED BY A CBS-TV TEAM REPRESENTING "SIXTY MINUTES" EARLY DECEMBER 18: HIS SALES PITCH MAY BE WORTH CATCHING SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20 (PROVIDEING EVERYTHING COMES OFF AS PLANNED.)

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